

## Message Text

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ACTION PM-04

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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO JCS WASHDC

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 4341

USEUCOM VAHINGER GERMANY

S E C R E T BELGRADE 5243

FOR SAGA

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MPOL

SUBJ: MU 75

REF: JCS 3482 DTG 271343Z AUG 75

1. AMBASSADOR WOULD WELCOME OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE IN SIMULATION MU 75 ASSUMING HIS PRECISE SCHEDULE IN JANUARY 1976 PERMITS.

2. OF DESIGNATED AREA FOR SCENARIO EUROPE SEEMS LEAST LIKELY TO GENERATE CRISIS WHICH COULD FOR EXAMPLE INVOLVE MASSIVE SOVIET INCURSION OR US MILITARY ROLE. HOWEVER, WHILE WE DO NOT EXPECT SUCH CRISIS TO EMERGE ANYWHERE IN EUROPE, IT IS NOWHERE MORE LIKELY THAN IN YUGOSLAVIA. THEREFORE IF WE ARE PREPARING FOR ANYTHING IN EUROPEAN THEATER, WE SHOULD BE PLANNING FOR CRISIS HERE.

3. WHILE TITO HAS OUTLIVED SOME WHO PREDICTED HIS DEMISE, HE WOULD BE 85-86 IN THE 1977-78 TIME FRAME FOR THIS EXERCISE. THE POSSIBILITY IS PRESENT THAT BY THAT DATE HE WILL NO LONGER BE AROUND TO HOLD THIS COUNTRY TOGETHER THE WAY HE HAS FOR THE PAST THREE DECADES.

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4. THERE ARE CLEARLY A VARIETY OF POST-TITO SCENARIOS. FIRST IS THAT OF RELATIVELY SMOOTH TRANSITION. DOUBTLESS WITH HIS APPROACHING DEPARTURE IN MIND, TITO INSTITUTED REFORM OF POLITICAL SYSTEM WHICH CULMINATED IN 1974 WITH CONFIRMATION OF FEDERALIZED STATE STRUCTURE IN NEW CONSTITUTION, BALANCED BY CENTRALIZED INTERLOCKING PARTY AND ARMY LEADERSHIP MADE UP PRIMARILY OF OLD LOYAL TITO HANDS. THUS, RELIABLE POST-TITO LEADERSHIP IS ALREADY IN PLACE AND HAS TAKEN OVER DAY-TO-DAY IF NOT MAJOR DECISION-MAKING. WHEN OLD MAN DOES GO, IMMEDIATE AND MOST LIKELY PROSPECTS ARE THAT GROUP WILL BE EFFECTIVE IN MAINTAINING INTERNAL STABILITY AND CONTINUITY OF TITOIST POLICIES DURING CRUCIAL SUCCESSION PERIOD.

5. HOWEVER, INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL FORCES ARE PRESENT WHICH COULD LEAD TO VERY DIFFERENT RESULT. A COMBINATION OF DOMESTIC ECONOMIC STAGNATION OR DECLINE (PERHAPS SPARKED BY A GENERAL INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CRISIS) AND A RISE OF NATIONALISTIC RIVALRIES WITHIN YUGOSLAVIA COULD BRING ABOUT INTERNAL DISORDERS AND POLITICAL CHAOS. IN THIS ENVIRONMENT SOVIETS COULD SEE OPPORTUNITY TO BRING YUGOSLAVIA BACK INTO THEIR FOLD, THUS FLANKING NATO AND GAINING ACCESS TO ADRIATIC AND MEDITERRANEAN.

6. EXERCISE COULD CONSIDER TWO SOVIET STRATEGIES:

FIRST, WHAT WOULD US RESPONSE BE TO SOVIET INTERFERENCE IN YUGOSLAVIA SHORT OF MILITARY INCURSION.

SECOND, WHAT WOULD US RESPONSE BE TO ACTUAL INVASION BY SOVIET FORCES--UNDOUBTEDLY "INVITED" AS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA BY SOME YUGOSLAV GROUP.

7. THERE IS, OF COURSE, SEPARATE QUESTION OF HOW YUGOSLAVIA WOULD FIT INTO SERIOUS CRISIS STARTED ELSEWHERE IN EXERCISE REGION. LAST EXAMPLE WAS OCTOBER 73 ARAB-ISRAELI WAR WHEN YUGOSLAVS ASSISTED SOVIET SUPPLY EFFORT TO ARABS. YUGOSLAV SYMPATHIES ARE STILL WITH ARABS BUT THEY HAVE BEEN HELPFUL OF LATE IN MODERATING MOST EXTREME ARAB DEMANDS. THEIR REACTION IN FUTURE WOULD DEPEND A GREAT DEAL ON SPECIFICS OF SITUATION. FOR

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EXAMPLE SHOULD ANOTHER ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT COINCIDE WITH A SERIOUS POST-TITO CRISIS INSIDE YUGOSLAVIA, THEY LIKELY TO BE WARY OF ALLOWING ANY SOVIET USE OF THEIR TERRITORY FOR FEAR IT OPENING WEDGE TO PERMANENT PRESENCE.

8. EMBASSY COULD MAKE MORE MEANINGFUL CONTRIBUTION TO AND WOULD WELCOME OPPORTUNITY COMMENT ON SCENARIO AS IT TAKES DEFINITE FORM.

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